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Millerand's Truths to France and to the World.

ALEXANDRE MILLERAND, France's new Premier, makes a good beginning when he stands up and tells some plain truths about the needs of his country.

If France is going to be saved economically it will not be because other nations save her but because she saves herself. If France's bills are going to be paid they are going to be paid by the French. If the water is going to be squeezed out of France's paper money it is going to be squeezed out by French economies and taxes.

All this the new Premier declares with candor and courage. But his strongest declaration of all is that France must work or die.

In the world conditions which have grown out of the war, with the natural laws ignored, with industries disorganized and workers demoralized, the Millerand warning is true not only of France but of all Europe. It is true of our own United States. It is true of the greater part of the whole earth.

Printing money instead of manufacturing goods is never going to put industry on a solid foundation. Multiplying credits instead of enlarging assets is never going to insure the solvency of business. Exacting more wages instead of heeding more potatoes shearing more sheep, raising more cattle, harvesting more crops—increasing all production—is never going to meet the abnormal cost of living, never going to provide for a nation the food, clothes and shelter that it can get permanently and surely only by work.

Exactly as real wages, whatever the dollar marks stuck on them, go down when the production into which a man's labor must be exchanged goes down, so taxes, although at a stationary rate, go up when production goes down. For taxes, like bread and butter, have to come out of production. There isn't anything else for them to come out of. The very process of speeding up production, with a square day's work returned for a square day's pay, both gives the public more to eat and wear and eases its burden of taxation.

Pumping up living costs with the economic force pump of wages without work, the American people have been skinning themselves just as surely as the French people have been looting themselves printing paper money by the ton to inflate the prices of commodities, service and other articles of true wealth.

If France must get down to work to dig herself out of the economic ditch in which she is mired the United States must get down to work to keep from sliding into that ditch up to the hubs.

The Alliance Between the Austrians and Czechs.

A despatch from Prague confirms an earlier report of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Austria having for its purposes the improvement in trade conditions and a cooperation to insure the stability of the present governmental rule in each State.

Austria's choice seems to have been well made. Czechoslovakia is in a better condition than any other State built on the ruins of the Hapsburg monarchy; it has a responsible government, industries have in a measure been restored and the people have gone to work. The State is not only self-supporting but it has raw materials for export. Bohemia in the past through its systems of railways and canals easily supplied Vienna with these commodities. Under the present agreement she will continue this supply.

In strong contrast to the conditions in Czechoslovakia are present conditions in Hungary. The Hungarian delegation to Paris returned to Budapest Wednesday and Count Apponyi, its spokesman, declared that the acceptance of the terms would mean the ruin of the nation. Hungary has been wrecked, but principally through six months rule by the egotistic Károlyi, the ruinous régime of Bela Kun and his Bolshevik supporters and the whims of monarchistic reaction. The great difficulty is that Hungary has

not accepted defeat as Austria has. Premier HUSZAR is insisting on the policy of the restoration of the Magyar rule over the entire area of the former Hungarian kingdom. In this he is strongly supported by Admiral Horthy, the former commander of the Austro-Hungarian navy, who has been reorganizing and equipping a Hungarian army to sustain the Magyar pretensions.

Hungary is to-day the most disturbing factor in the Central European situation. Horthy has already despatched a force to the Czech border for the recovery of the Slovakian territory; he has also sent a force to the Austrian border for the retention of Hungarian territory awarded in the treaty to Austria. It thus becomes evident that besides its economic value the alliance has also the purpose of mutual protection against the military aggression of the wilfully unruly neighbor on the south.

The Monroe Doctrine in the Wilson Covenant.

We call attention to the very important discrepancy of text and meaning between the English and the French versions of the Monroe Doctrine provision in the Wilson covenant, pointed out this morning in a letter to THE SUN from Professor WILLIAM STARR MYERS. This singular circumstance had not escaped notice previously. The Pym Preceptor of History and Politics at Princeton brings it out more clearly than before and exhibits the consequences of a clash of interpretations of an article equally official in the two conflicting versions.

Readers of THE SUN who have forgotten the earlier phases of President Wilson's self-determined enterprise know that in his first proposed constitution—it was then styled a constitution, not a covenant—of the League of Nations there was no reference whatever to the Monroe Doctrine. As read by Mr. Wilson at the plenary session of the Peace Conference on February 14 of last year the document was silent as the tomb about America's traditional policy so distinctly asserted and reaffirmed in connection with both of the series of treaties signed at The Hague, and likewise with equal directness and emphasis when our Government participated in the Algeiras convention.

This original draft of the League constitution is the draft of which Mr. Wilson said to the Conference on February 14, 1919, that it was a practical document and that it expressed the conscience of the world. It is the draft which he brought back with him on his brief visit to the United States in that same February, and which he exhibited both in his Boston speech of February 24 and in his New York speech in March as the covenant which the Senate would find so skillfully interwoven with the treaty of peace that it would be impossible to dissect them apart. It was the draft of which he said in the Metropolitan Opera House "I did not need to be told, as I have been told, that the people of the United States would support this covenant. I am an American and I knew they would. What a sweet revenge it is upon the world!"

And the practical covenant, the inseparable covenant, the covenant which Mr. Wilson, because he was an American, knew the people of the United States would support, was as void of any mention of the Monroe Doctrine as the Book of Tobit in the Apocrypha.

It was too much even for the most ardent subscribers to the campaign fund of Mr. TAPPAN'S League to Enforce Peace. The President, after his return to Paris, began to get reminders from all sorts of eminent Americans, friendly in a general way to the idea of a League of Nations, that this omission of the Monroe Doctrine was too gross a blunder to be overlooked even by them. He received all manner of suggestions, good, bad and indifferent, as to the form in which it should be incorporated.

In the second or revised draft of the original constitution, now restyled "covenant," he did slide in a reference to the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine was "mentioned," but in a manner so nebulous and deceptive and with a description of its true inwardness so patently fraudulent that it might as well have been left freezing in the outer darkness and coldness to which the President's scheme originally condemned it. His manner of explaining to the Conference and the world this change of the unchangeable was as characteristic as his method of drafting the "regional understandings" amendment, under pressure from his supporters here at home. When he came, at the plenary session of April 28, to expound the significance of "some of the alterations that have been made" he devoted just four words to the subject of the Monroe Doctrine change in the League fabric. "Article XXI," he said to the Conference, "is new."

And he has been insisting ever since that Article XXI, like the rest of his self-determined handiwork, must not be changed even by the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t." Even if the heavens fall the Senate must leave his "regional understandings" masterpiece untouched.

Professor MYERS shows to-day in his letter to THE SUN that while the official text of the treaty in English signifies one thing with regard to the sanctity and force of the Monroe Doctrine, the official text of the treaty in French signifies quite a different thing, perhaps a diametrically opposite thing, with regard to that subject. The construction of this national obligation, if it should become a national obligation in the form of a treaty, would be followed by the devoted little band whose efforts were rewarded with the creation of the Commission the American Insti-

cerned, upon the supergovernment's own choice of official version as between English and French, and then on the construction which the League interpreters might put upon the extremely loose phraseology of the article itself, whichever version should be adopted as definitive.

Whether Professor MYERS is right or wrong in his view of the plain implication of the French text at this point, the fact remains that the confusion of purpose and the evasion of direct statement leave the Monroe Doctrine away up in the air. The only way to get it down and to plant it squarely on two feet on solid American ground is to write our own reservation or amendment of construction and application, and to write it so clearly that there can never be in any quarter of the globe any misunderstanding or doubt of what the United States Government means to do with regard to the Monroe Doctrine. The Lodge reservation on this point, supported by a majority of the American Senators, with slightly different opinions about the most desirable phraseology to be employed, is aimed at this characteristic performance of the author of the covenant.

At how many other points room is left between French and English texts for similar misunderstandings and conflicting constructions of the instrument with which President Wilson has demanded that we shall bind our future can be determined only by the most minute and deliberate consideration of its complexities, in gross and in detail; and this is what the American people have come to perceive and to demand.

The clearing up of Article XXI might be a legitimate enterprise for Mr. TAPPAN'S League to Enforce Peace, provided the state of its treasury permits the undertaking. THE SUN, by the way, has before it a somewhat pathetic private appeal to the faithful, signed by the treasurer of that organization and dated only last Monday, stating that "the League was compelled recently to borrow \$20,000, and now needs funds with which to repay this amount and continue its work." Dull times?

Federal Recognition of Fine Arts.

At a recent meeting in this city of the American Institute of Arts and Letters tentative action was taken to obtain Federal recognition of the objects chiefly sought by the Institute: to foster and encourage the growth and excellence of American arts and letters. It was decided to call a special meeting of the Institute to give further consideration to the subject with the plan of determining how best to interest public opinion in support of the purpose and through that force to move Congress to favorable action. WALTER DAMROSCH spoke of the cordial aid given to him by the French Minister of Fine Arts when he undertook in France the task of raising the standard of American band music. In support of the suggestion Mr. BLANCHFIELD cited the good work done by the Federal Commission of Fine Arts, and at the suggestion of CASS GILBERT the course decided upon was adopted.

The Institute does well to give careful thought to preliminaries; to consider how much to ask for before beginning its campaign of public education lest in asking too much at first it fall to receive any help from Congress. We are disposed to think that the Institute would be unwise to ask for an executive department such as France and many other European countries have. It may be that a movement having headway for a new department to administer such laws as Congress may pass further to extend Federal cooperation with States and institutions in respect to educational matters, such, for example, as the cooperation already existing between the Government and agricultural colleges, might answer the Institute's purposes. If such a Cabinet office be created one of its bureaus might well administer laws designed to foster arts and letters.

But the end sought might be more conveniently accomplished by Federal legislation extending the scope of the Commission of Fine Arts created by Congress in 1910. It is significant in relation to the Institute's purpose to recall the several extensions of this Commission's powers. The creating act directed that it should "advise upon the location of statues, fountains and monuments in the public squares, streets and parks of the District of Columbia, and upon the selection of models" for such works. By an executive order of October, 1910, the President directed that "plans for no public building to be erected in the District of Columbia for the general Government shall hereafter be finally approved by the officer duly authorized until after such officer shall have submitted the plans to the Commission of Fine Arts." Again, in February, 1912, and in November, 1913, executive orders enlarged the scope of the Commission's authority; the order of 1913 directing that it advise in the matter of the erection of any "new structure" which might "affect in any important way the appearance of the city," or whenever questions arose involving matters of art with which the Federal Government was concerned.

All bills involving Government expenditure for work with which the Fine Arts Commission is concerned are reported by the House Committee on the Library, and that committee has worked in cordial relations with the Commission, a result being that in the past ten years Washington has been spared the infliction of such burlesques on art as in earlier days made some of its parks places to be avoided by persons of good taste.

In such ways as were followed by the devoted little band whose efforts were rewarded with the creation of the Commission the American Insti-

tute of Arts and Letters may achieve some if not all of the results it desires. The Commission of Fine Arts is among the several known in Washington as "independent," not being under the jurisdiction of an executive department, as are the commissions on civil service, efficiency, trade, tariff, boundaries and others. Congress is more disposed to create commissions than executive departments, and a fine arts commission, once created, its powers and jurisdiction may be greatly enlarged, as we have pointed out, by a sympathetic President's executive orders.

Prohibition's Effect on Crime.

Some optimistic prohibitionist is quoted as saying that one of the inevitable results of national drought will be a reduction of all police forces, including that of New York, which numbers nearly 11,000 men.

We cannot believe. We have never heard a New York Police Commissioner admit that he had enough men, even when he was modestly confessing that this was the best policed city in the world.

When there are no more crimes that spring from alcoholism and its by-products there will still be the cold, sober housebreaker, the pickpocket of exemplary personal habits and the usually abstemious violator of a hundred ordinances. The police will have a thousand groups of corner loungers to break up if it be true that prohibition will set them free from some of their other tasks.

Our Town Hall.

To-morrow New York will see the cornerstone laid of the house of an interesting experiment. This building, in West Forty-third street, is to be called the Civic Auditorium, although its friends have referred to it by the more intimate name of the town hall. It is to be to the people what Cooper Union was to the old city, but perhaps in a broader way, for every law abiding citizen with a thought to utter for the common good is expected to join his fellow thinkers at the Civic Auditorium and say it aloud. It will be a place for patriotic demonstration, for calm discussing of city problems and often of course for letting off steam.

This new gathering place, of which the New England meeting house was the prototype, comes to the rescue of the dialectician who finds all the other worthy halls taken up by New York's passion for music. Here symphony will not be permitted to take the time and the space needed for the matching of minds. Instead of a fugue we shall hear a discussion of the Twentieth Amendment, if one be proposed. All in all, it is a most interesting prospect, and when the cornerstone is laid by Mrs. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Jr., whose grandniece, ELEANOR BUTLER SANDERS, founded the League for Political Education, the trustee institution of the Forum, all will wish for the new hall a useful future.

The scarcity of nurses proclaimed by the Health Department seems to be a chronic condition in New York and its suburbs, but the effect of the lack of professionals should not be as serious to-day as it would have been a few years ago, before so many women learned the elements of scientific care of the sick. During the war the number of women practically useful in the sickroom in this country was increased by many millions, and the value of their training still endures.

It will take some thought to decide wisely to which branch of the medical profession should be referred the case of Citizen Foy. Going into his favorite restaurant—this was on the morning of January 17—he ordered his accustomed cup of coffee, but instead of bringing it to its familiar blond hue with milk he poured into its sombre depths a liberal portion of extract of ginger. To the policeman whose attentions he soon afterward needed Mr. Foy with good nature but with insistence explained that he was the Woolworth Building. As ginger and other potent extracts may be used to determine some investigation upon minds therefrom accelerated. In olden times some citizens imagined and stoutly declared they were bears and they growled to prove it; that they were foxes and begged interested onlookers to watch them trot. Whatever may have caused these whimsical beliefs it is certain that Mr. Foy has found another cause resulting in imaginings more artistic.

Believe that the ginger, a fox, is a child; to entertain a fixed belief that one is the Woolworth Building denotes yearning for high art, no less.

From the Evening Mail, New York.

The purchase of the Herald by Frank A. Munsey brings a newspaper of big achievements into the ownership of a man whose career has been a succession of big undertakings. Mr. Munsey likes to do things of large proportions and unusual character. He revolutionized the monthly magazine field years ago with his "Lure" and "Century." Other magazine publishers' undertakings seemed impossible; yet one by one most of them followed his example, though it is doubtful whether any of them ever equalled his yearly profits out of the popular magazine field.

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The dominant note with him has always been frankness as to purpose, independence in thought and the rugged determination inbred in the Maine Yankee to stick everlastingly to whatever he has set out to do.

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Charles A. Dana and James Gordon Bennett, father and son, could not have wished to have their heritage of new-

spaper fame left in hands more capable or more desirous to take up where they left off and keep alive and alert their spirit of great enterprise, broad purpose and sturdy Americanism.

"The Maker of His Own Traditions."

That Mercer had who graduated from a five years course in telegraphy at Augsburg and who published magazines firmly established a reputation for wizardry in printer's ink years ago, so his acquisition of several New York publications of old and splendid traditions excites no surprise, remarkable though it be. One of his local contemporaries remarks that:

"Mr. Munsey is very much the maker of his own traditions."

The traditions of THE SUN do not appear to have been impaired by the ownership of Frank A. Munsey, and none appears to have a fate for the New York Herald and Telegram which he has recently acquired.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN THE TREATY.

The Two Versions, English and French—The League Would Choose Between Them.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: According to an official copy of the treaty of peace, secured from the State Department at Washington, Article XXI, of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations reads as follows:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

According to the same official copy the French text of the same Article XXI is as follows:

Les engagements internationaux, tels que les traités d'arbitrage, et les ententes régionales, comme la doctrine de Monroe, qui assurent le maintien de la paix, ne sont considérés comme incompatibles avec aucune des dispositions du présent pacte.

A correct translation of this French text should read:

The international engagements, such as arbitration treaties, and regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, which assure the maintenance of peace, are not considered as incompatible with any of the provisions of the present compact.

At it once will be seen that a comparison of the English and French texts, both of them official, shows a striking difference of emphasis if not of actual meaning. According to the English text as submitted to the American people as the Monroe Doctrine is to affect the League. Therefore, if the Senate for the League of Nations demand any change, this and any other like divergences would be subject to the League organization for interpretation. It is a foregone conclusion that this interpretation would favor the interests of the other member nations rather than the peculiar interests of the United States. Any person at all familiar with our past diplomatic history knows the generally hostile attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine usually assumed by the other nations of the world, and the formation of the League gives no sign of any conversion to American views on their part.

Is any further argument needed as to the imperative duty of the Senate to ratify the League covenant, if it ratify it, must only with our own reservations or amendments, so that by our own previous action we shall remove all danger to the independence and interests of the United States?

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.  
PRINCETON, N. J., JANUARY 20.

THE VOTE OF A MINORITY.

THE BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE CASE OF THE FIVE SOCIALISTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: There is an erroneous impression abroad that the bar of New York has in some way given its opinion against the action of the Assembly in suspending the five Socialist members. The fact is that the bar has not expressed its opinion in any way on the subject, nor has it had any opportunity to do so.

The number of lawyers in this bar is not less than 12,000. The membership of the City Bar Association is about 2,000. The Hughes committee as far as is known represents less than 200 lawyers. At a recent meeting of the City Bar Association where less than one-fifth of the membership was present the resolution appointing the Hughes committee to defend the five Socialists was hurriedly jammed through in the face of strong and bitter protest and opposition.

No doubt the movers had rallied their forces beforehand, and yet they had less than 200 votes for their resolution. And now on the strength of this snap vote of less than one-tenth of the association membership this committee is going about pretending to represent the bar of New York and to be the champions of fair representation in public affairs.

And more, on pretence of supporting representative government they assume to bully the duly elected representatives of the people into compliance with their wishes on a matter which under the Constitution of the State is entirely within the control and judgment of those representatives. It is to laugh.

ALFRED B. CRUTEHANK.  
NEW YORK, JANUARY 22.

IT IS MORE LIKE EINSTEIN RELATIVITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Has the Newtonian law of gravitation anything to do with the tendency of little men to marry big women and of little women to prefer big men, or is it merely a corrective effort of nature to average the species?

CHARLES THEODORE MURRAY.  
WARDENVILLE, W. Va., JANUARY 21.

THE TRUTH WILL OUT—SOMETIMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: As honor to Admiral Sims for the splendid service he is rendering to the navy and to the country!

Some one has spoken of him as a lion in the Daniels den; but I think that is not happy, for, as I recall the circumstances, each lion kept his mouth shut.

A PATIENT WAITER.  
WASHINGTON, JANUARY 22.

IN THE SAFETY DEPOSIT VAULT.

The Bottle—I don't see how he will ever work the combination when he couldn't find a simple keyhole.

Man's Liberty.

From the Tepeka Capital.

No man is so daunted as they will object to having others share his good opinion of himself.

MR. MUNSEY'S PURCHASE OF THE "NEW YORK HERALD."

The "Baltimore News" Welcomes the Accession to the Family.

From the Baltimore News.

About twenty years ago Mr. Munsey, following a decade of almost unparalleled success in the field of magazine publication, decided to turn his talents and his genius for organization in the direction of daily newspaper publication.

He held the very sound theory that a magazine can speak only once a month or once a week at most, whereas a daily newspaper influences the lives and moulds the opinions of tens of thousands of readers each day.

It is hardly worth while to speak here of the discouragements, of the disappointments which were inevitable. But it is to be said that a very small percentage of the discouragements and disappointments would have put an essential stop to the newspaper ambitions of most men. As a general rule a man must grow up in journalism, must go to it early and stay with it late, get it bred in the bone, so to speak. It seldom happens that a man approaching middle age can enter the newspaper field and make a success of the undertaking. It was only natural therefore that some of his same experiences should have been disappointing to Mr. Munsey and it would have occasioned little surprise had he retired gracefully from the field. The simple fact is that he was not, is not nor ever could be a quitter. He wasn't cast in that mould.

Notwithstanding those early discouragements Mr. Munsey went steadily ahead, taking his losses philosophically like a sportsman and a gentleman, not grieving over minor failures here or there but making up by day careful studies and surveys of the field of modern journalism until the day came when he felt that he was master of the situation. As his reward for twenty years of intensive effort for twenty years of persistent application of his sound journalistic principles, Mr. Munsey finds himself to-day at the head of three of the greatest newspaper properties of the world: THE SUN, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Evening Post.

It is to be said that Mr. Munsey has been allowed to invite itself into this splendid company I may include the Baltimore News. While not so large as its brothers and sisters in the Munsey family, no paper in the group has finer traditions or tries more sincerely to live up to its best traditions than the News, and, both of them official, shows a striking difference of emphasis if not of actual meaning. According to the English text as submitted to the American people as the Monroe Doctrine is to affect the League. Therefore, if the Senate for the League of Nations demand any change, this and any other like divergences would be subject to the League organization for interpretation. It is a foregone conclusion that this interpretation would favor the interests of the other member nations rather than the peculiar interests of the United States. Any person at all familiar with our past diplomatic history knows the generally hostile attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine usually assumed by the other nations of the world, and the formation of the League gives no sign of any conversion to American views on their part.

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SENTIMENTS STIRRED IN THE NATIVE STATE OF MR. BENNETT'S SUCCESSOR.

From the Leicester (Me.) Evening Journal.

Maine has reason to take especial pride in the announcement that Frank A. Munsey is extending his newspaper ownership and influence into the State of Maine, announced this week of the New York Herald. Mr. Munsey is a Maine man—and not only that, he is almost a Lewiston man, having been born and educated in Androscoggin county, where he first learned how to read the dots and dashes of the Morse code in the Lisbon Falls railway station.

To-day Mr. Munsey has come into the inheritance of two distinguished journalists, Charles A. Dana and the elder and younger James Gordon Bennett. He is the greatest work, without doubt, to "carry on" the great metropolitan traditions of the New York Herald as he already has been carrying on those of THE SUN. But he has changed with the changing times and Mr. Munsey is certain to give America twentieth century papers in the true sense of the word.

Into this fraternity of newspaperdom, where ancient political personalities and big names are but fading memories, Mr. Munsey is welcomed to-day with a cordial hand.

"The Herald's" New Owner.

From the Evening Mail, New York.

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